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Column One David Courtney

EMPIRE is out of date. Its substitute is a matter of economics or ideology, not territory. Even the sphere of influence principle has lost its definition. It is subject to hard currency or hard times; in the first event, shaping itself to the guidance of the dollar, in the second to the guidance of want and the stirring slogans of the agitator. Britain, with no hard currency to spare and with an ideology more sensible than existing, when it comes to the point has very little to show but the proud flag, around which empire and influence were built up when ideology was a false commodity told by a peppy gentleman called Marx and the dollar a currency no harder to suspicious teeth than any other.

LITTLE wonder, then, if Mr. Morrison's difficulties in Egypt, like those in Persia, are acute. The Conservatives would like him to run up the flag and swivel his guns to confront the offending Egyptians in terms as antiquated as the gold sovereign. Clever correspondents convey the impression that the Labour Government, sans dollars, sans ideology, sans the courage or wit to drag out the flag and raise the ghost of Cecil Rhodes, must take the yoke in Persia as it has taken it in Persia and surrender, if not to the Egyptians then at least to the Americans.

IN other words, the government that gave back India to the Indians, Burma to the Burmese, is to go a step further and give the Middle East to the Americans. If this were indeed the intention, it might not be such a bad idea; except that the United States itself could be expected to have its own views on the matter. On the evidence, those views hardly seem to favour an acceptance of the surrender; they favour, rather, the very "appeasement" of which Mr. Morrison has been declared guilty.

DIPLOMACY, even between a big and a little power, is a confusing, indecorous affair; far more so when the involvement is in a semi-colonialism based on international treaty concluded if not under duress, then under something very like it; which gives to a government of feudalistic scallies the opportunity to disguise itself in the intoxicating apparel of self-determination, sovereign integrity, democratic rights and all the rest of the gaudy paraphernalia of nationalism. One suspects that Mr. Morrison has been compelled to look at the Egyptian matter that way. A state of affairs brought about in a Tory era has come to its natural crisis at a time of quasi-socialism, the principles and good sense of which doubtless would have found the solution if quasi-socialism had not come parallel with a state of international tension brought to a pitch of pre-belligerency in which military strategy and the probable stresses of a possible war put principles, socialist or any other, into the same category as pacifists, fellow-travellers, neutralists and all the other tedious goods to conscience.

IN these circumstances, showing the flag won't do. Hard cash in Britain's pocket to jingle before the Egyptians, there is none; nor cavalry to impress a cowering populace in place of an ideology to stir it. So-called appeasement remains. If that fails, there are but two alternatives—to give in to the Egyptians or to call in America. If the second of these alternatives, what have the Tories to complain about or the commentators to be contemptuous of?

Tel Aviv, August 29.

French Seek To Oust Turkey

By George Lichtheim
POST Correspondent

LONDON, Tuesday.—It is revealed here today that the French Government has raised fresh objections to the inclusion of Greece and Turkey in NATO, and will press them at the forthcoming Ottawa conference of Foreign Ministers. This disclosure lends fresh interest to the rumour that Whitehall is planning a new approach to Egypt based on the concept of Anglo-Egyptian partnership within a Mediterranean defence pact.

It is thought that if Turkey remains outside NATO, the Egyptians will abandon their present hopeful expectation of being eventually included and will resign themselves to entering a Mid-Eastern pact provided the British garrison on the Canal is replaced by an international force.

Hint for New Move
The latter's status and composition may well form the subject of whatever discussions will continue after the Egyptian government and Parliament have gone through the ceremony of abrogating the present treaty: a psychological satisfaction which in the British view it would be unwise to deny them.

Little Hope For Cairo Resolution

FLUSHING MEADOW, Tuesday (AP).—The Egyptian draft resolution asking the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on whether the Big Three, Turkey and the Netherlands were qualified to vote on the Big Three's own resolution calling upon Egypt to lift the Suez blockade, is unlikely to be approved by the Security Council, even if Egypt finds a sponsor.

Late last night, Cairo Radio claimed that Nationalist China has agreed to sponsor Egypt's resolution. Egypt submitted the resolution on Monday, but it can neither be debated by the Council or voted upon unless sponsored by a Council member. The Council will meet on this issue tomorrow, after an adjournment yesterday proposed by the Nationalist China delegate, Tsiang-ling-fu.

Israel sources, however, doubted whether the Security Council would tomorrow come to any decision on the issue. An Israeli spokesman commenting on the developments said today the Council had "shown unprecedented tolerance for the manner in which its time was being wasted."

Egypt Wants To Barter Gaza

LONDON, Tuesday.—Egypt has offered the Gaza strip in return for the evacuation of troops in the Suez Canal zone, according to a report in the "Jewish Chronicle," sent by Jon Kimche from Geneva. Egypt would then be willing to join a Middle East defence organization and conclude a new treaty with Britain.

Kimche, quoting a "first-rate Egyptian diplomatic source," said the proposal had been presented to Britain by Foreign Minister Salah el-Din, and that the Egyptians were confident that Britain, with some U.S. pressure, would accept. A similar proposal was made in the London "Times" recently by a Lebanese Member of Parliament.

Egypt, according to Kimche, would be "happy to see England in Gaza."

(Recently an Egyptian committee of experts reported that "starvation, Communism, prostitution and lawlessness are rampant in the area").

Big-Three Foreign Ministers To Meet

WASHINGTON, Tuesday (Reuter).—The State Department today confirmed that the Big Three foreign ministers would meet in Washington from September 10 to 13 to discuss "matters of mutual interest."

A spokesman said that the dates for their meetings were still tentative as the date of Mr. Acheson's departure from the Japanese Peace Conference in San Francisco was still uncertain.

Harriman Is Still Hopeful

LONDON, Tuesday (Reuter).—President Truman's special envoy, Mr. Averell Harriman, said today that the next move in the Anglo-Persian oil dispute was up to Teheran. He told a press conference that a solution of the oil problem was possible as a result of discussions so far.

Mr. Harriman said he was "naturally disappointed" about suspension of the Anglo-Persian oil talks, but was not discouraged. Mr. Stokes' visit to Teheran had done much to improve the atmosphere in relations between Britain and Persia, he said, and there was a sound basis for future negotiations and eventual settlement of the dispute.

Will Go If Asked
Asked if he would be ready to return to Teheran, the U.S. Envoy replied: "I would have to be invited by both the British and Persian Governments. I would go if I were so invited."

Ridgway May Ask New Talk Site

TOKYO, Tuesday (Reuter).—Speculation here that General Ridgway would ask the Communists to change the scene of the Korean cease-fire talks if they were to continue was revived today.

A statement by General Ridgway's Public Information Office said that the Communists had taken advantage of the fact that Kaesong was within their lines "to place the United Nations Command delegation in an undignified position which portrayed us to the Communist press as representing a defeated command."

It accused the Communists of attempting to dictate the composition of the United Nations delegation, halting the movement of its couriers and bringing the talks to the demilitarized conference site. It also repeated the charge that they had perpetrated a "sham" in staging the Kaesong bombing incident.

Eban Submits Riley Letter

FLUSHING MEADOW, Tuesday (INA).—Mr. Eban today submitted to the Security Council Israel's exchange of correspondence with Lieutenant-General William Riley, demanding the "speedy removal of all obstacles to the completion of the Huleh project."

Mr. Eban said the Mixed Armistice Commission had not met since June 20, and asked for the resumption of armistice machinery and the discussion of such urgent problems as the Huleh project and Israel's complaint that Syrian regular and irregular forces invaded Israel at Tel el-Mutilla in the first week of May.

General Riley replied that he thought these charges should be discussed together with the reports on the investigations of the U.N. Observer, so as to clarify matters.

Inquiry Promised
The Jordan delegation undertook to carry out inquiries in Safi and Khirbet el Feifa, the villages from which the murderers appeared to have come, in order to bring the criminals to trial. Israel will be informed of the results of the inquiry.

The next M.A.C. meeting will be held at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning to continue the discussion of outstanding complaints.

6 Sentenced To Death In Amman

AMMAN, Monday.—The Arab Legion military court near Amman today passed the death sentence on six men found guilty of complicity in the murder of King Abdullah the first, and acquitted the four remaining defendants.

The six sentenced to death are:
• Dr. Musa Abdullah Hussein, 41, a graduate of Berlin University, deported from Palestine for his part in the 1948-49 trials, who later escaped to Germany. After breaking with his father, he joined the Arab Legion.

• Akhmed Ukkash, Jerusalem cattle merchant, active in the Palestine war as member of the Mufti Jihad organization.

• Akhmed Ukkash, his brother, butcher and cattle merchant, also active in the Jihad.

• Akhmed Ukkash, former leader of a Mufti Jihad squad, allegedly head of Arab terrorist activities in Damascus.

• Colonel Abdullah el-Tel, former Commander of the Arab Legion in the Old City, and later its military governor, who broke with King Abdullah in 1950 and escaped to Egypt.

• Musa Ahmad el-Ayoubi, former Jerusalem vegetable merchant, follower of the Mufti from whom the Mufti disassociated himself recently. New in Egypt.

The remaining four defendants—Dr. Daoud Hussein, Tewfik Salah Hussein, Father Ibrahim Ayad and Kamel Kalouti—were acquitted by the Court, which ordered their release.

The Court went into session at 11 a.m. this morning, and announced the names of the six found guilty, despite the news that a last-minute confession by Dr. Musa Hussein might cause the reopening of the trial.

According to the Amman and Old City press—subject to rigorous censorship—Dr. Musa's confession in fact revealed no new facts of importance, and was accompanied merely by a plea for clemency.

Earlier, Dr. Musa's defence counsel had claimed the new confession would show that he was trapped into the plot by Colonel Abdullah el-Tel.

The Court resumed again later this morning after having taken an hour's adjournment, and read out the sentences.

Egypt Won't Give Up E-Tel and Ayoubi

CAIRO, Tuesday (Reuter).—Egypt will not surrender to the Jordan authorities the two men convicted of complicity in the assassination of King Abdullah and now in Egypt, a spokesman of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry said today.

More than 300 persons had been detained in the course of the investigations in the murder of Lebanese ex-Premier Riad el-Solh, according to the "A-Difa" yesterday. The Old City newspaper added that most of them had been released on high bail.

The trial of the suspects is to open in Amman at the end of the current week. A military court is to conduct the trial in the presence of an official Lebanese government delegation.

The Congress yesterday took no final decision on the question of Congress election procedure and on the "double shahel" privilege of Israelis. The Confederation, in its demand to abolish the double shahel right of Israeli voters, claimed this right was given to the Yishuv when it was small and the Congress made decisions binding it. The Confederation claimed that Israel is now independent and that there was a danger that by the double vote, the minority of world Jewry in Israel would have more seats in Congress than Diaspora Jewry.

The defenders of the double shahel scheme, on the other hand, suggest that instead of demanding the abolition of the double vote, the Zionists should increase their numbers among Diaspora Jews, who outnumber the Israeli Jews.

'Tasks' Formula Adopted; Final Session Expected Today

THE ZIONIST CONGRESS NAVIGATED ITS DANGEROUS CORNER LAST NIGHT, WITH THE ADOPTION, AFTER MIDNIGHT, OF A COMPROMISE RESOLUTION DEFINING THE TASK OF ZIONISM AS "THE STRENGTHENING OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, THE INGATHERING OF THE EXILES IN ERETZ ISRAEL, AND THE FOSTERING OF THE UNITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE."

PROPOSED STATUS

The resolution on the status of the Zionist Organization as drafted by the Political Committee will be debated today. It states:
1. The Congress declares that the political program undertaken by the World Zionist Organization and its agencies for the fulfilment of its historic tasks in Eretz Israel calls for the fullest degree of cooperation with the State of Israel and its Government, in accordance with the laws of the land.
2. The Congress considers it essential that the State of Israel, through appropriate legislative act grant status to the World Zionist Organization as the representative of the Jewish people in all matters that relate to the organized participation of Jews in the world over in the development and upbuilding of the land and the rapid absorption of its newcomers.
3. In relation to all activities conducted in the interest of the State of Israel within Jewish communities outside of Israel, it is essential that the Government of the State of Israel shall act in coordination and consultation with the World Zionist Organization.
4. In all matters regarding legislation by the State of Israel touching the activities of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, their property or their undertakings, there shall be prior consultation between the Government and the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency.
5. On the basis of the status granted to the World Zionist Organization, the Executive of the World Zionist Organization shall be authorized to work within the limits defined from time to time by special agreement with the Israel Government. Among the fields of activity during the forthcoming period shall be the following:
a. The organization of immigration, the transfer of immigrants and their property to Eretz Israel;
b. Participation in the absorption of immigrants;
c. Youth Aliya;
d. Development of agricultural settlements;
e. Acquisition and improvement of land by the Jewish National Fund;
f. Participation in development projects.
The Coordination Board of the Israel Government and the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency shall coordinate the implementation of the above described activities.

Compromise Achieves Unity

The Zionist Congress, by 286 votes for and no opposition last night adopted the resolution stating the tasks of Zionism, but not replacing the Basic Programme as the official Zionist Programme.

The Committee, which laboured for six days to draft such a programme, had been deadlocked. "It became clear," the Committee chairman, Mr. Ezra Shapiro, told the delegates yesterday, "that if this Congress and the Zionist Movement were to emerge united, it could do so at this time only on a formulation which would define the 'tasks' rather than the 'aims' of Zionism."

Last night's debate on the "Jerusalem Programme" was the highlight of the Congress. The hall was so crowded that the President, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, had to appeal to visitors to vacate benches on the floor to make place for voting delegates. Later, an intermission had to be called to clear standees from the aisles in the gallery because it was in danger of collapsing.

Deep Differences
After the Committee chairman sat down, attempts were made to influence the plenary to reverse the Committee's decision and to adopt a more forthright resolution. Asking the Americans "what are you hiding?" Mr. Meir Grossman (Revisionist) said the Congress should tell the world—Christians and Jews—that Zionism was a revolutionary movement to solve the Jewish problem.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Dr. S. Junichman (Icru) who proposed a resolution saying "The aim of Zionism is to establish the whole of Israel in its historic boundaries as a Jewish State, a State of Democracy and Liberty, the main purpose of its existence being the return to Zion of all 'dorshei Zion' (who seek Zion)."

Mr. Itzhak Gruenbaum, moved a formula identical with that of the majority of the Committee but favoured the word "aims" in place of "tasks."

Mapam's alternative suggestion was made by Mr. Eliezer Peri. It read: "Zionism aims to solve the problem of the Jewish people by the ingathering of Exiles in Eretz Israel and their integration as a working community and by strengthening of the State of Israel."

The four alternatives were not put to a vote as the President ruled that the committee's proposal should be voted upon first. The Congress, by 286-77, upheld the President's ruling.

In a moving address following the vote, Dr. Goldmann told the delegates: "We can be proud of this decision. It illustrates the strength and state-of-mind of the Jewish people. We have nothing to be ashamed of. The criticism made against the weakness of the resolution and of U.S. Zionists should take into consideration the special situation of Jews in America. Let us not forget that American Jews for thirty years were only asked for money and political pressure. Now we are asking them for immigration. That is a question of education which is a slow process."

It is understood that Mr. Jacob Blauman of the American Jewish Committee, rabbi Dr. Goldmann that if the Jerusalem Programme was adopted, it would cause a severe and result in most American Jews fighting Zionism.

On Monday night a lengthy debate took place on the entire complex of Congress election questions, when Mapam demanded the creation of a new election procedure and the World Confederation of General Zionists, in an another minority proposal, demanded the abolition of the double shahel right of Israeli Zionists. Mapam deplored the fact that in some countries of the

With the adoption of this part of the Fundamental Aims resolution, at one o'clock this morning, there remains the balance of this resolution, the adoption of the Zionist Organization budget and, finally, the election of the Executive, on the recommendation of the Standing Committee. It is expected the sittings today will finish this heavy business and the Congress will then adjourn.

It is not an oversimplification to say that the most searching debate of the 23rd Congress turned on a semi-colon. It is perhaps true to suggest that had the words "strengthening of the State" been followed by the word "through" (or by means of) "instead of the semi-colon, making the "ingathering" more or less logically, an action independent" of the "strengthening" there would have been no debate—certainly no debate of the depth and breadth heard last night.

It was, even for a 23rd Congress, a remarkable feat, for once again in Zionism's history the Movement's "ultimate aim" was unreservedly, even defiantly, factually, even demagogically, by others, but faced it, absolutely enough.

Twenty years earlier, a Zionist Congress was all but disrupted because the "ultimate aim" question was posed. Rather than answer it, Dr. Weizmann went into the wilderness for four years, choosing hateful non-committal to the Movement's dissolution 1931. It was held by jointly in London and Paris, to declare that the aim of the National Movement was an independent State.

In 1951, when Dr. Weizmann was too early in the State for the ultimate aim to be proclaimed concentrating of people in Israel? Is it wiser to concentrate in the State and let Jewish side Israel take with the Jews as the consolidation of ordard of sorts with classed (or stigma dispersed Israelis?

The majority, with reluctance, agreed was the sounder opposition displayed reluctance nor rest pitilessly pointing out Basic aim having been accomplished. Jerusalem bound to trace the course, and that that m to the ingathering of s in exile.

Without this goal movement must shrink more easily attainable goal, the lesser the exulted the veteran I Gruenbaum. The aim be high, the horizon be Only "atrophyed emotions national solidarity, of be bracketed with those "exile" needing to be "deemed."

And so the Congress was pitched headlong into the excruciating question whether the "ingathering" was itself the goal, the ingathering of the needy, that is, or was it a means to an end which was Israel the home of the Jewish people? The majority view prevailed, and ingathering is a means, not yet the end.

There was a good deal of irredentist bombast about "capitulation" to "Protest Zionists" (so it was claimed) of the "Protest Zionists" who stood in Herzl's way, but the Congress in the end turned the corner. The compromise makes possible a concord without setting up two camps. Let us hope, Mapam in the five words.

This was one task the Congress, which on many other occasions ran away from decisions, rather shirked, skirted round, or bypassed. It engaged possible personal injury by facing up to the fact that there is address in concentration of an ideal as well as joy — grief for those not forced or not willing to share in the concentration on the spot; that the desire to the Congress pledged the continuous voluntary and unshakable participation of the Zionists of the English-speaking bloc.

Joseph's Children
Chief Rabbi Herzog drew a parallel between the Biblical Joseph and Zionists who still live in the Diaspora when he greeted the Congress yesterday. Joseph was faithful to Egypt, the country where he lived, but loved Israel, the Land of his Fathers. Rabbi Herzog said. But just as Joseph foresaw the return of his people to the Land of Israel and bade them take his body with them, so must Zionists still living in the Diaspora prepare for their own coming to Israel.

Mr. Shapiro said it had appeared that an impasse had been reached, but later a more flexible, more universally acceptable formulations were produced.

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